THE
NATION

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MARCH 18, 1961 . . 25c

TUITION CRISIS IN THE IVY LEAGUE STATES

John Shaffer

WHAT PRICE KASAVUBU?

Charles P. Howard, Sr.

ADVERTISING DOOMSDAY

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LETTERS

Congo's Uranium

Dear Sirs: Mr. R. Calder's article, "Shinkolobwe—Key to the Congo" [Feb. 25 issue] is, I suggest, a slight simplification of the underlying colonial and economic forces at work in that unfortunate area.

A few years back the importance of Shinkolobwe may have been such that people could have designated the mine as a key to understanding the interest of the United States in the area. In 1959, however, only 245,759 metric tons of uranium ore were extracted at the mine as compared with 435,704 tons in 1958 (the reduction of tonnage was in part due to a fire which closed the mine for 100 days). The extraction of payable ore, however, is expected to end this year and the mine will then be closed. Stock piles of ore will continue to be fed to the treatment plant until exhausted. During the past few years the development of other sources of uranium ore has depreciated the importance of Shinkolobwe.

This by no means, however, lessens the importance of the Union Minière in the Congo picture, together with all the international ramifications. Nor can the general viewpoint of Mr. Calder's article be discounted. The interest of the United States in the Congo stems in no little part from the fact that it has been an important source of uranium tri-oxide for the government. American companies are also committed very heavily in the Rhodesian area which borders the Katanga....

Brooklyn, N.Y. TESSIN ZORACH

'll Talk of Peace

... It is rare these days that ... the opportunity to sit down ... l spend a full week in dis... rections in which we are ... approach international ... phere of truth. Such ... ored by the Ameri... Committee. Re... clude Eleanor ... gs, I. F. Stone, ... ray Vining, ... er and mem... of AFSC), ... *he Power* ... Meacham ... AFSC), ... ler, lec...). ... 23 to ... Lake, Pennsylvania. Registrations are limited to 150 people. For information, please get in touch with the AFSC office, 237 Third Avenue, New York 3, N.Y., GRamercy 3-5998. ROBERT GILMORE

New York City

Prejudiced?

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* for January 21, I read the "Letter from Yugoslavia" by your correspondent Donald Richie. For anyone who knows anything about Yugoslavia, it is easy to see that Mr. Richie has grossly overplayed his hand with praises of the various people he met.... Would Mr. Richie or anyone else explain: *how is it that so many Yugoslavs leave such a wonderful country by crossing its western frontiers illegally and often risking their lives in the attempt?* S. A. ILITCH

Denver, Colorado

Remember the Crime

Dear Sirs: The murder of Patrice Lumumba had such impacts, including world-wide demonstrations against Belgium and the United States, that I can't see why you dismissed it with but a glance in your recent editorial ["The President's Speech," Feb. 25]. His murder parallels that of Nagy, and regardless of the U.N.'s good intentions, that organization seems pretty well discredited up to now in Africa itself. You should, I think, stress the crime.

Boston, Mass. F. WEISSENBORN

[*See "What Price Kasavubu?" by Charles P. Howard, Sr., on page 231 of this issue.*—ED.]

H. G. Wells Society

Dear Sirs: An H. G. Wells Society has recently been founded, composed of admirers of this distinguished writer. Readers who may be interested in joining should write to the undersigned at 39 Rugby Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, England. J. R. HAMMOND

War to End War

Dear Sirs: The Nation has been publishing many articles on the problem of maintaining the peace. May I add a modest proposal? Wars in the past have greatly stimulated scientific and technological progress but have failed dismally to create any changes in the nature of man. But a nuclear war can do this. It will wipe out most of the population, but the radioactivity will cause many mutations. Most of these will be lethal, but in some corner of the earth a mutation will give rise to a few highly intelligent beings psychologically incapable of waging war. These will slowly repopulate the world by outwitting any surviving warriors.

A carefully planned nuclear war is a simple and straightforward solution.

Durham, N.C. FREDERICK BERNHEIM

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VOLUME 192, No. 11

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Peace Corps

"Ask not what your country will do for you," said President Kennedy in the peroration of his inaugural address, "ask what you can do for your country." The response to the Peace Corps idea—which idea the President got from Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative Henry Reuss—indicates that a great many Americans are ready to act on Mr. Kennedy's exhortation. In the Peace Corps headquarters the telephone never stopped ringing, and the bulging mail sacks never stopped coming in.

Nor is this a "children's crusade," as some skeptics have suggested it might become. By teen-age standards, Rafer Johnson, 27, the Olympic decathlon champion, is pushing middle age; Forest Evashevski, athletic director at the University of Iowa, is in the sunset years (42), and 60-year-old Dr. Howard Rusk, professor of physical education at New York University and an editor of *The New York Times*, is practically a Civil War veteran. Yet these three were among the inquirers. Presumably Dr. Rusk is not thinking of joining the Peace Corps himself, but the wide range and intensity of interest gives the lie to the notion that Americans are dedicated only to the suburban split-level, the dry martini and the vice presidency of the company.

It would be criminal to dissipate this upsurge of enthusiasm, which is of the very essence of youth and health and life. Nor need we pay attention to the Old Guard Republicans to whom any new idea is an abomination, especially if it comes from a Democratic President. Still less must we reckon with the lunatic fringe, like the California State Conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which bewailed the "menial physical labor" which our young men might be called on to do overseas and their employment at "bare subsistence wages" when, one member argued, private industry at home would pay them anywhere from $600 to $2,000 a month. But when Representative Frances Bolton, who thinks the Peace Corps is "terrifying," suggests that the pace may be too fast, the administrators had better listen: this thing must be done right or it had better not be done at all.

Dedication is not enough. Eagerness is not enough, nor a warm heart. Those chosen to serve in the Peace Corps must be able to give what is needed to the countries where they are assigned, and that requires technical competence as well as love of country and love of humanity. The situation recalls one that followed the Russian revolution. A few American revolutionaries, among them Bill Hayward and Emma Goldman, shook the dust of American capitalism from their feet and departed to the Red Utopia. There was nothing for them to do. The Russians didn't need revolutionists; they needed engineers.

If the Peace Corps needs a year before it is prepared to serve some countries, a year it will have to be. But—and here is where administrative skill comes in—there should not be a single day of unnecessary delay. In some fields, such as the teaching of English, considerable speed should be possible. The way in which this project is managed and whether the enthusiasm is sustained or dies away like a juke box hit song, will be a test of America's qualifications for international cooperation in the sixties. The light which performance in this project will throw on the United States will be only less important than the help it may give to other countri
If a new missile were involved, and hundreds of m
of dollars in profit, the necessary urgency wou
matically be generated. Here there is no prof
opportunity for mass slaughter. It is a ne
challenge.

Business as Peace Corps

As a practical matter, the Kenned
Peace Corps can hardly be expec
relations abroad to the same e
ness investment, which has in
the end of World War II
(R., Wisconsin) sees this
troductory pronouncement
sional Record) that the U
locked in a life-and-death
the Senator gives advic
country abroad. He in
fundamental principle

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dedication to a great cause." To be utterly selfless might be a trifle difficult for businessmen serving their companies, but when he gets down to cases Senator Wiley does not ask too much. He urges his pupils to participate in the host country's efforts to improve health, education and culture, i.e., contribute to the local equivalent of the Community Chest. But his first point, and the one most likely to be followed, is to "adopt public relations programs to create a favorable public opinion. . . ."

While Senator Wiley has been thus engaged in ethical discourse, Richard Dudman has been reporting the actual performance of American corporations in Latin America in a series of articles for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. In Peru he found them engaged in a combination of public relations and good works with public relations gimmicks apparently uppermost. The list of projects of the "Comite Por Venezuela" starts with the awarding of a four-year scholarship (in the United States) to the winner of the Venezuelan soap-box derby. A baseball and volleyball coach is being brought from the United States to improve Venezuelan culture. Other projects include building a swimming pool in a poor district and — a strange interlude — "helping destitute Americans in Venezuela to keep them from becoming embarrassing public charges."

Amid these good works, practical considerations are not forgotten. Mr. Dudman says rather bluntly that "the movement's real motive seems to be to protect private property against expropriation and against additional taxation and labor legislation." How familiar! Also, the businessmen prefer dictators: ". . . distrust of democracy as applied to Latin America is a belief that runs strong through American business communities in these countries." There is reason for this. The Cerro de Pasco Company, for one, is involved in bloody fights

Indian "squatters" who claim the company's big
las by right of traditional inheritance. Under a
the Indians would be better behaved.

erican businessman (in Peru) says he and
s in Latin America are combatting com-
subtle and diplomatic way." It would

fricans?

," like most demagogic slogans,
angerous. From Tananarive,
stand-in) and Kalonji have,
up the Congo into private
anner that Europeans once
ir "anti-Communist" coali-
f "concealed colonialism"
Russell Howe, reporting
ington *Post*, offers some

illuminating details. The forces that drove the U.N. from Matadi were under the direction of Belgian officers. Backing them was the partly Belgian-officered Thysville garrison. The cease-fire negotiations were handled on the Congolese side by acting Premier Leon Delvaux, a mulatto politician who is regarded in the Congo as "Belgium's main spokesman." Belgian interests still control the three Leopoldville newspapers and, according to Howe, "are using them for a virulent and irresponsible campaign against the U.N."

But more important, the invisible financial controls are still in Belgian hands. President Nkrumah of Ghana, in a little-noticed section of his speech in the General Assembly on March 7, called attention to the fact that the Belgian National Bank by "agreement" dictates the policy of the Central Bank of the Congo. Advances by the Central Bank in order to pay Mobutu's men could not have been obtained without the approval of the Belgian National Bank. And Mobutu succeeded largely because Lumumba was unable to pay the soldiers or to meet public expenditures. At independence, the public debt of the Congo totaled roughly £350,000,000 (the greater part of this debt had been incurred, incidentally, in the development of Katanga, a development which had immensely benefited Union Miniere and other mining and industrial interests), while the assets totaled about £240,000,000. But these assets were largely situated in Katanga and include a large holding in Union Miniere.

Against this background, if Kasavubu and Kalonji pool their military forces with the predominantly private army of Katanga, Tshombe will be calling the tune. Katanga is the real center of power; behind Tshombe are the massive taxes from his Belgian mining patrons. Gizenga, meanwhile, is blockaded from exporting regional agricultural products down the Congo. Even so, in the long run, the "anti-Communist" (concealed colonial) coalition is not likely to prevail as long as the nationalist forces look to Gizenga for leadership. The U.N. now has a chance to reverse its initial errors by a firm handling of the Congolese Quislings. But will it?

The Issue, Mr. Speaker

A day before the House of Representatives voted, 412 to 6, an increased appropriation for the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Supreme Court divided 5-to-4 in the Braden and Wilkinson cases. If the eloquent dissent of Justice Black had been the majority opinion, the Court would in effect have abolished the HUAC. Yet the impression prevails that since the HUAC received the nearly unanimous approval of the Congress, it must enjoy the nearly unanimous approval of the nation. The Supreme Court is not, of course, an elected body, and divisions in it do not necessarily reflect national divisions; nevertheless, the San Francisco

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Chronicle hazards the opinion that this time the Court "seems to mirror the split in the country."

By any reckoning, the Court's division on the issue is a more accurate mirror of national opinion than the vote in Congress. Reports from close observers confirm the view that a hundred or more votes would have been registered against the appropriation if a secret ballot had been used. It is a matter of serious concern when members of Congress fail to vote their convictions on an issue of this importance. The remedy, of course, is for citizens who favor abolition to concentrate their attention on Congressmen who might have been expected to vote against the appropriation, but did not. "What is it about public office," inquires the Madison *Capital Times,* "that makes men so timid? Where were Representatives Reuss, Johnson and Zablocki?" (liberal members of the Wisconsin delegation who failed to join their colleague, Rep. Robert Kastenmeier, in opposition to the appropriation). This is the right question to ask. The time has come to call the roll on those members of Congress who, in conversation and correspondence, over teacups and cocktail glasses, agree that the HUAC should be abolished and then fail to vote their convictions. This year's best speech in the HUAC debate was delivered by Rep. Thomas Ashley (D.) of Ohio:

> All of us are keenly aware that the forces of communism are unswervingly dedicated to the destruction of this and other free nations. . . . But surely we are aware, too, that communism is not the only threat to our liberty. The individual freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights can be lost or diluted through our own action or inaction, and if this is allowed to happen by our own hand, the loss of liberty is no less than if imposed by an alien adversary.
>
> Are we ready and willing to defend our individual freedoms in the House of Representatives as we are on the battlefield? I believe this is the issue, Mr. Speaker.

Circus in Rome, N. Y.

The city of Rome, N.Y., population 51,000, almost went into a panic recently when the federal government announced it might move part of the nearby Griffiss Air Force Base to another state. The move would mean a loss of 6,000 local jobs.

Community reaction was swift. An empty store was opened so that people could send telegrams of protest to President Kennedy: "for $1.21, charged to your phone bill." More than 1,000 telegrams were sent the first day. Nearly the entire New York Congressional delegation descended upon high Pentagon officials to deliver a separate protest. A citizens' group flew to Washington to make their personal protest at the Pentagon. Governor Rockefeller issued strong statements decrying the move.

Questions: What would Rome, N.Y., do if the plan was not merely to move part of Griffiss Air Force Base, but to close it up entirely in accordance with a general disarmament plan? What would hundreds of other communities, equally dependent for their economies on nearby military installations, do in like circumstances? And does not the fear of such energetic protest, sweeping the Main Streets of the country, dampen the enthusiasm of political leaders for the idea of disarmament?

Maybe It Won't Work – Make It Anyway

"I'm a little confused by what I read in the papers about the Nike-Zeus program," complained chairman Overton Brooks of the House Space Committee. He is not the only one in this condition; this matter of Nike-Zeus will probably become as chronic under the Kennedy Administration as it was under Eisenhower. Nike-Zeus is the weapon which the Army relies on to knock oncoming Soviet missiles out of the American sky. Although he is not as frank about it, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara must be confused, too. Richard S. Morse, his Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development, wishes to put the anti-missile missile into immediate production. Herbert F. York, the Eisenhower Defense Department research and engineering director whom the Kennedy Administration has retained *pro tem,* is opposed. He doesn't think Nike-Zeus will work. Many engineers share this view. But this is not the point at all. Nike-Zeus must be made, whether it works or not.

The gentlemen who find themselves confused could obtain considerable clarification from Jerry Greene's article, "Munitions: A Way of Life," in the March 4 *Nation.* Greene is the military editor of the New York *Daily News* and something of a connoisseur of Nike-Zeus. So far, Zeus has been fired only 140 miles, but everything else is to be skipped and it is to be put into production. As Greene says, the Army is screaming for it, Zeus being the Army's only base in the high-class missiles field. The Army's contractors are screaming even louder [see article on page 235]. Few bettors would care to wager that even one ICBM would ever be downed by a Zeus—but we must go into production as if Zeus were a finished and proved product.

The attitude of the newspapers and news weeklies is interesting. Most of them are well informed enough to recognize a public relations buildup when they see one. The buildup in this case is peculiarly flagrant, but the press prints everything with a straight face. It is as if the entire cognizant scientific and engineering community stood behind Zeus, almost to a man. If anything were needed to convince the public that the objective of the defense program is not defense alone, but profit, the Zeus program would fit the bill. But the public will never know it, for the press won't tell. With a few honorable exceptions, it is a partner in the selling job.

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Tuition Crisis in the Ivy League States . . *by John Shaffer*

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER'S proposal to subsidize qualified students entering institutions of higher learning in New York State raises in acute form the whole problem of public vs. private education at college and university level. The problem is by no means unique in New York. The fact is that many states —particularly in the highly industrialized Northeast region of the country—which can best afford low-tuition, public, higher education are giving of it least, and relying the most on high-tuition, private institutions.

A 1959 U.S. Department of Commerce report reveals that the five states with the highest per capita state expenditures for higher education were New Mexico ($29.50), Utah ($28.72), Michigan ($28.10), Colorado ($27.58) and California ($24.90); the five states which spent the least per capita on higher education were Kentucky ($8.40), New Jersey ($6.01), Pennsylvania ($5.26), New York ($5.10) and Massachusetts ($4.72). In terms of the percentage of total state education expenditures given to higher education, the five most generous states were Indiana, Colorado, Michigan, North Dakota and Oklahoma; the five least generous were Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and (fiftieth on the list) New York. In terms of the percentage of personal income given over to state expenditures for higher education, the lowest five again were Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and—last once more—New York.

Connecticut, at the time of the study, had the highest average per capita income in the country, and New York ranked fourth.

The statistics portray clearly that a complex of wealthy Northeastern states are generally failing to support low-tuition public colleges and universities. The prevailing political, economic and educational patterns of power in these states have almost contemptuously maintained a retrogressive philosophy of education, resulting in an "elite" system of universities and colleges as exclusive and expensive as any in the world.

THE real position of the non-church private colleges and universities was described by Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton of the University of Chicago when he spoke candidly to the members of the American Association of State Universities at their 1959 meeting in Chicago. He summarized the purposes and functions of the non-church private institutions, better known as the "elite" colleges, as follows:

> ¶Honest snobbery is the best policy.
>
> ¶Private institutions should try to educate only a carefully selected intellectual elite.
>
> ¶Like other aristocratic organizations, they should charge all the traffic will bear.
>
> ¶The private institution does not have to be so immediately responsive to *public* needs.
>
> ¶Private schools are not in a financial position to accept responsibility for the total problem of higher education in America.
>
> ¶Private institutions have stated objectives which become the primary basis of admissions.
>
> ¶In addition to their institutional objectives (usually printed in a school catalogue), private schools limit their enrollments and select students by certain unwritten conditions: i.e., using the quota system for minority groups; limiting enrollments to the upper economic classes; favoring sons and daughters of alumni; and assuring a special national or regional representation.

The elite pattern of higher education, like a bikini, is not designed to cover the total situation. In some cases the educational institutions run by corporate executives are intended only to augment, or express, the prestige motive; and prestige, like wealth and power, tends to be cumulative.

Statistics from *The Emigration of American College Students* reveal the number of undergraduate college students who are forced to leave their homes in the low-expenditure states to find an education where they can. Each year since 1957, New York State has exported over 50,000 undergraduates, New Jersey 36,000, Pennsylvania 26,000, Connecticut 14,000, and Massachusetts over 10,000. The study did not reveal how many insolvent youths of college age in these states had applied for admission to low-tuition state institutions, had been denied entry because of a lack of facilities, and had been forced to give up any chances for higher education.

When hundreds of thousands of educable young men and women have to emigrate, then we simply cannot believe that all of them lack ambition, or "can't" be educated, or do not deserve an education. This "structural displacement" is a mere symptom of the protracted conflict in these states between the ruling elite-college protagonists and those unblessed millions who lack an organizational weapon to guarantee equal educational opportunity in the land of the free. The sum total effect is cultural segregation.

The Pied Piper of educational opportunity is leading more students each year out of their home states—and especially those from the five lowest-expenditure states. Parents may question whether or not they will ever come back to work, marry and raise their families. There is much evidence that these young emigrants, seeking a better life, do not come back from North Carolina, Indiana, Michigan and points West. Job opportunities for the qualified are everywhere and closely allied with the growing state universities that have room to take in the wandering stranger from the Northeast. The socially conscious guidance counselor may size up the high school senior and truthfully say, "Go West, young man, for an education and a job."

AMID THE great national debate on American purposes and the role of higher education, it should not be necessary to remind citizens—and

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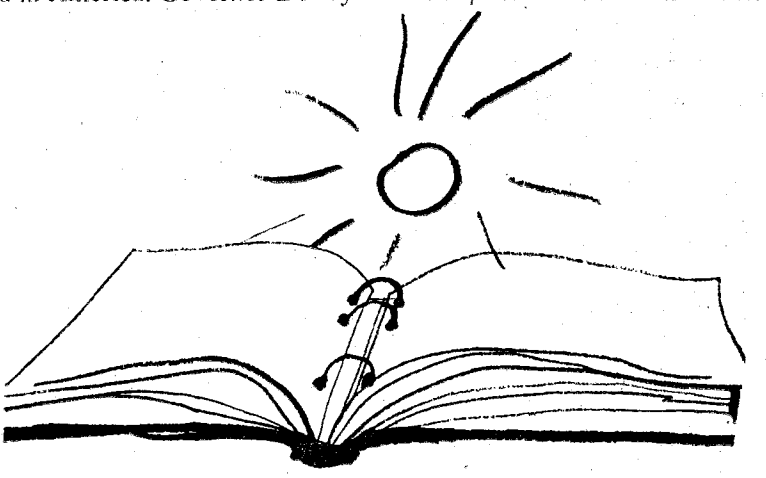
private-school educators—of those principles which gave rise to our state-supported colleges and universities. The state universities and land-grant colleges present the finest image of American democracy at work. Almost a century ago, this miracle in higher education was a dream such as only a free, imaginative society dared to possess. Among the eloquent spokesmen of that dream was John B. Bowman, first regent (president) of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky University, who said in 1865:

> I want to build up a people's institution, a great free university, eventually open and accessible to the poorest boy in the land, who may come and receive an education practical and suitable for any business or profession in life. I want to cheapen this whole matter of education, so that, under the broad and expansive influences of our Republican institutions, and our advancing civilization, it may run free, as our great rivers, and bless the coming millions. . . .

Faith in these principles caused most states to make provision for state universities in their state constitutions. The Indiana constitution, for example, directs the State General Assembly ". . . to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be *gratis* and equally open to all." Similar provisions are found in the constitutions of other states.

Three basic principles which gave rise to the inclusion of such sections immediately come to mind. First is the principle of equality of opportunity. President Herman Wells of Indiana University said: "Admission policies of state universities should never be governed by budgetary limitations or administrative convenience. Each youth who has the will to learn must be given the opportunity to test his ability in free academic competition." Secondly, our forefathers called on us to seek and spread knowledge. Finally, our forefathers affirmed public responsibility for financial support of our public-school system, including the state university. Thomas Jefferson expressed this thought in a single dramatic sentence: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." Or, in the words of our second President, John Adams, "Education is more indispensable, and must be more general, under a free government than any other. In a monarchy, the few who are likely to govern must have some education. . . . In an aristocracy, the nobles should be educated. . . . But in a free government knowledge must be general, and universal."

THE State University of New York was the last state university to be founded in America. Governor Dewey



was hardly following in Lincoln's footsteps when he made it politically expedient to found a state university in 1948. The Governor had asked Owen D. Young to head a "Commission on the Need for a State University"; its findings revealed: (1) an increased demand for college education from war veterans, (2) a general shortage of higher education facilities, and (3) increasing complaints and charges of discrimination in higher education. The academic elite were surprised! They had no idea. . . .

The professional staff of the State Educational Department in 1948 was still warning the PTAs and groups of school administrators and board members that the formation of a state university would take the funds that otherwise might go to them. The State Board of Regents, with full responsibility for the development of a public program of higher education, supported the private-school interests exclusively and mustered political support for the private-school legislators by describing the "damage" that would derive from state university "competition."

The academic "power elite" working at its smoothest pace in history saw no possible chance for this plebian monster to arise in their united midst. But it did. Dr. Oliver Carmichael, Jr., in a study entitled "New York Establishes a State University," described the change as follows:

> Common values and objectives had created a great degree of cohesion among the members of various minority-group organizations. The practice of educational discrimination among the private institutions enabled all minority groups to maintain a common and united front for increased facilities for higher education and a Fair Educational Practices Act. They realized that *only* through political channels did they possess the means of making a place for themselves in the institutions of the state.

The last great state university to be founded in America, this creature of the 1948 New York Legislature was the proud fulfillment of the dreams of all who had suffered from the elite system of higher education in New York. And system it had been for 186 years—faithful legislators, alumni governors, loyal Regents, commissioners from Ivy League colleges, and the families of industrial empires had all done their share to perpetuate a planned policy of educational exclusiveness in the image that a "good" education was a private-school education.

The battle is not yet won, as witnessed by the confusion in the 1961 New York Legislature over what to

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do with their embarrassing fiftieth rank that was sticking out with every statistic, not to mention the 50,000 students who are emigrating from New York annually to find a college they can afford—and get into. Today New York needs a John B. Bowman who spoke so eloquently for the University of Kentucky in 1865.

The unblessed millions and the educationally dispossessed are aware that there has been little change in the public image of higher education in New York and the other low-expenditure states. There won't be until the people become emotionally involved with the problems of their respective state universities. The organizational weapon is not forged, but the seriousness of the problem in these low-expenditure states is such that it will be political and economic suicide to ignore it for another two or four years. More and more editorials in the daily press are demanding that coherent state planning in higher education must have prompt attention. Other Owen D. Young Commissions might study the deteriorating situations and modify extremely biased positions, but in reality it will be up to the people to learn the facts and by their concerted political action make it possible to form a new image for public higher education.

By a coincidence, the motto of the State University of New York is "Let each become all that he is capable of being." It does not add "If he can get in" or "If he has the money."

AT present the average New York citizen is ambivalent in his attitudes towards the tasks ahead. On the one hand, he is amazed at the projected cost in dollars and energy to catch up, first, and then gear up the educational establishment to the requirements of the Age of Automation. On the other hand, he realizes that education has now become an instrument of national defense and international policy, as well as an instrument of social mobility, economic strength and individual fulfillment.

Harry Golden chuckles when he asks a wearer of the Crimson robe why Harvard did away with their competitive exams for admissions

that used to add a democratic flavor to their admissions policies. The State University of New York has been forced to give competitive exams for admission; it simply does not have room for thousands of high school graduates who would like to attend one of its many branches. It does not have the buildings, the housing, the classrooms and equipment, nor the faculty. It does not have them because the dominantly private-school Legislature has never appropriated adequate money to do the necessary job. The same story can be told in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

The private-school complaint is that it is hard to sell a product that is given away down the street. The academic elite, including private-school liberals in the Governor's office, have seen to it that it is not the same product. It is not the same product after New York teachers colleges have been crowded to four times their rated instructional capacity—and then have turned away four out of five applicants. The Legislature has trimmed the proposed building plans of the colleges of education by 25 per cent, lowered teachers-college staff salaries relatively to those of similar rank in other state colleges. It is not the same product, judged by the shocking lack of secretarial, janitorial, clerical and library help; the lack of funds for the first graduate assistant, or for offset printing presses, modern time-saving devices and instructional services of all kinds for the faculties of the eleven New York colleges of education.

The products *should* be equal and there *should* be a choice.

President Kennedy wrote, "Our state governments must provide teachers colleges that attract the *best* students and provide the *best* education. Some states still have too many teachers colleges too poorly financed and staffed and too ill-equipped in terms of physical plant, libraries, laboratories and other facilities."

COMMUNITY colleges and other two-year colleges have been neglected in the five low-expenditure states. New York, for example, has twenty-four two-year colleges while California has over sixty-one—all tuition-free. New York requires that one-third of the operational costs of its community colleges must be borne by tuition charges. This formula has been a millstone around the necks of every community college.

Dr. Henry Commager, history professor at Amherst, is unduly concerned with a gimmick which "should operate to transfer the burden of tuition payments from the individual to society. . . . In all likelihood, the best solution is the one with which we are most familiar from experience with the G.I. Bill of Rights—payments directly by government to students who win admission to college." It undoubtedly was no scholarly oversight that caused him to suggest this device instead of an adequate state university.

Dr. Commager deftly poses reasons for charging higher tuition in public colleges, stating that (1) to favor a free-tuition public higher education is to favor an educational elite at the expense of the great masses of young people in the country, and (2) increased tuition and installment-payment plans are needed because "such money as is available should go to elementary and secondary education, where it is desperately needed, rather than to higher education." This rings a hollow mockery in a low-expenditure state such as New York, for example, which ranks *first* in the nation in average daily-attendance student

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support for elementary and secondary pupils, but *fiftieth* in per capita expenditures for higher education (1959).

Commager repeats the old saw that "as for the needy student, the new plans for tuition will not affect him. . . . No one will be denied an education because he is poor." In this he is absolutely right. No elite college will exclude a boy with an I.Q. of 185, white, Aryan, a Protestant from a cultured background, who is at ease during a probing personal interview, who knocks the top out of the college boards, can be vouched for by five faithful alumni, supplies a geographic balance to the student body, and has a glowing letter of recommendation from a secondary-school headmaster testifying to his character, qualities of leadership and social performance.

Is the low-tuition principle now outmoded? The classic answer was given in the *College Review Board*, Spring 1959, by Dr. Eldon Johnson, President of the University of New Hampshire:

> The low-tuition principle is not outmoded in the sense of having failed . . . is not outmoded by the discovery of any alternative which will widen rather than restrict educational opportunity . . . is not outmoded by some new means test which allegedly will do more for society . . . is not outmoded by the system of educational installment buying, "learn now, pay later," with its appalling consequences . . . is not outmoded by public inability to bear the burden in the richest nation in the world when our Communist competitors have given education the highest priority for public support.
>
> In summary, the low-tuition principle is outmoded only for persons who have never been able to embrace the equalitarian ideas and social gains of public higher education. The existing low-tuition principle already provides the most generous scholarship-assistance program of any nation in the world.

What Price Kasavubu?

. . by Charles P. Howard, Sr.

United Nations

I AM an American Negro. I am also a newspaperman. But in our present-day world, marked by the swift and painful emergence of new African nations, I have not been able to remain detached, a mere observer of great events.

I am, as are most of my fellow American Negroes, torn between loyalty to my country, and loyalty to my people both here in the United States and overseas in Africa. I sincerely believe that there is no reason for these loyalties to clash—if we, Americans of all colors, races and faiths, succeed in lining up with the future, with the speedy torrent of a new world now being born out of the blood, misery, hatred and pain of the past.

I have been to the Congo. I have witnessed the events there and I am sorely troubled. Often the second and hardest phase of independence movements, in former colonial areas, is the fight the liberators must wage against their own people who collaborate with the former colonial powers, in this case the Belgians. Undoubtedly the Congolese are going through this stage, which is being made more difficult by the help the collaborators are receiving from the outside. I believe that by helping President Kasavubu, we have helped in the creation of a monster that is going to devour its own country and eventually contribute to the demise of any hope of future American-African cooperation.

I charge Congo's President Kasavubu with being a collaborationist and with having set up in the Congo a most cruel dictatorship under the guise of a republic.

Kasavubu's history is a history of repeated usurpations and cruel repressions. Let facts speak for themselves:

- He dismissed Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba without the sanction of Parliament.
- He dismissed all the ministers of the Cabinet who remained loyal to the Prime Minister, without receiving a vote of confidence.
- He dismissed the Parliament itself because it had refused to give him a vote of confidence, and ordered his armed henchmen to cordon off the Parliament building.
- He expelled from the land of their birth all influential citizens who dared publicly to disagree with him, and caused others to flee.
- He has used the Congolese Army as his personal weapon.
- He has connived with secessionist leaders to grant independence to two of the richest provinces of the Republic, thereby threatening the integrity and viability of the country.
- His dictatorship has resulted in the division of the country into three subdivisions and civil war is raging in each sector today.
- He has three times tried to hold a round-table conference of alleged leaders of the Congo, but he could not assemble even his own followers.
- He has surrounded himself with the very people—the Belgians—who dominated and suppressed his fellow citizens for more than eighty years before independence; and he proposed to return them to power by granting them diplomatic immunity as advisers, military men and office-holders in the judiciary and in the economy of the country.
- He has refused to cooperate with the U.N. (which he invited into the Congo) and threatens its expulsion every time it fails to do his bidding.
- He arrested the Prime Minister and loyal members of his government, holding them for months without charges or trial; then he turned Lumumba and two of his associates over to Tshombe to be murdered.
- He arrested and turned over to Kalonji seven of his leading opponents, who were then murdered.
- He and his co-conspirators refused to divulge the time or the place of the burial of these martyrs.
- He has embarked upon a sys-

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tematic campaign to discredit the United Nations by militarily attacking small U.N. forces with overwhelming numbers of heavily armed contingents. The tactic is designed to give a false image of his strength, and to encourage the notion that it is hopeless to resist him. The real masterminds of this tactic, and its real beneficiaries, are the Belgian colonialists.

The so-called Peace Conference called at Tananarive cannot produce a solution to the problem, in my judgment. There is only one body authorized to speak for the people of the Congo: that is the Parliament.

The world I know calls on the United States to assist in finding and punishing the murderers of Lumumba and his associates. We have helped in the creation of a monster; we owe it to the world to give our active aid in removing it from the backs of the Congolese people. There will be no peace in the Congo as long as Kasavubu, Mobutu, Ileo and Bomboko are in the central government, or Tshombe and Kalonji head separate parts of the Congo or participate in government in any way. These are the men who have brought murder as a political technique to the Congo. Can we deny moral responsibility in this matter? Have we not experienced enough in backing dictatorships in South America and other parts of the world? Have we learned nothing?

Doctor Shortage and Medical Standards . . *George A. Silver*

IN THE SPATE of headlines about medical care in the past few months, two are interrelated: the problem of qualifying foreign doctors for work in American hospitals and the shortage of trained physicians in the United States.

Since 1938, warnings have been sounded about the approaching shortage of doctors. For a long time, organized medicine denied that there was, or would be, a shortage. This turned out not to be true. Two years ago, the Public Health Service published its *Health Manpower Source Book*, confirming what had been obvious to most people for at least ten years: we weren't turning out doctors at a rate equal to our population growth rate.

The proportion of physicians in America is still larger than that of any other country in the world except Israel (where the "ingathering" produced a temporary surfeit). The United States has 132 physicians for each 100,000 persons in the population. But, from the Public Health Service report, we see that the number of physicians here proportional to the population has remained constant since 1900, while the ratio of *practicing* physicians has declined. Just since 1930, for example, the proportion in practice has dropped from 132 to 90 per 100,000. (Many doctors are engaged in other activities — in hospitals, research, finishing their training preparatory for specialization, in the Armed Forces, working in industry or retired. In 1957, out of 226,000 physicians, 70,000 were not in active practice.)

If we extrapolate into the future, as the Surgeon-General's committee does in the 1959 "Bane Report," we find that the present production rate of physicians is in the neighborhood of 7,500 per year, which may increase to as much as 7,900 per year by 1975. But in view of our population growth, we would have to turn out 11,000 physicians a year by 1975 *just to maintain the present ratio*. In other words, in the next fifteen years it is estimated that we will be 20,000 physicians short of the number required to keep our present proportion. In 1900 there was one practicing physician for every 500 people in the United States; today the ratio is approximately one to 1,000; by 1975, it may be one to 1,500.

THE pressures to increase the supply of physicians have resulted in another development which accounts for the related headlines about foreign graduates of medicine working — or not working — in American hospitals.

If you ask why the hospitals have to take foreign graduates at all, the answer lies in the physician shortage. More people are going into hospitals — in 1900, for example, less than half the deliveries were done in hospitals; now almost 96 per cent are done in hospitals. There is more hospital insurance available, and so more people can afford hospitalization. And since doctors can't spend their day in hospital — partly because they are busy outside, partly because in many places they must rush to two or three or five hospitals to see patients (this wasteful example of free enterprise deserves a story in itself) — some physician must be available in hospital for twenty-four-hour-a-day patient care. Good physicians want good interns or residents to look after their patients. What attracts good interns or residents? A good training program. But generally only "teaching hospitals" — part of, or associated with, medical schools — offer good training programs, and these constitute only about 5 per cent of the hospitals in the country. So, for the 12,000 internships available each year, only 7,500 new graduates are eligible. For hospital administrators desperate for interns, the graduates of foreign schools, eager for American hospital opportunities—whatever their training or experience, whether they spoke English or not — were a bonanza.

There are now some 8,700 graduates of foreign medical schools working in American hospitals as interns and residents. Their quality is largely unknown, but it is suspected that the majority have not received the type of education that we demand of graduates of Amer-

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ican medical schools. This is not to say that all graduates of American medical schools are excellent, or that all graduates of foreign schools are poor. It is only that the *likelihood* of a student from many foreign medical schools having the qualifications of graduates of American institutions is less. (In countries where medical education is as closely supervised, or is as much a matter of national concern, as it is in the United States, medical education is excellent. Examples: England, Scandinavia.) There are countries where the technique of medical education is still somewhere in the nineteenth century. There may be thousands of students to a class, literally, and most of the teaching is done through lectures; they are given little or no clinical experience. And it is clinical experience under close supervision that is the hallmark of American medical education.

Often it is the student from the less adequate school, located in a country where the opportunities for physicians are more limited, who is most likely to migrate to the United States, seeking different or better clinical opportunities. If there were actually a good training mechanism within all hospitals, this in itself might not be too bad. Unfortunately, the same bias applies to the hospitals that accept the foreign medical students for training as applies generally to foreign students here. The alien who comes from a poor school is likely to wind up training in a poor hospital that lacks the resources or staff for proper teaching.

AND NOW the net draws tighter. Historically, specialty training (which the internship and residency represent) has been open to all comers. But with the army of specialists growing, professional pride dictated that standards had to be set. So, in recent years, boards have been set up under the aegis of the AMA to qualify physicians as specialists. The boards then had to qualify hospitals as appropriate training places. For this purpose, AMA and the American Hospital Association (AHA) developed a licensing procedure based on a quasi-independent body, the Joint Commission on Accreditation. The standards set are relatively modest; they involve procedures for review of records, a certain percentage of autopsies, conferences, a minimum library, an attending staff of board quality, and other teaching opportunities. Most hospitals think it worth while to qualify for these minimum standards in order to attract interns.

Naturally, both the AMA and the AHA were unhappy about the introduction into hospitals here of large numbers of foreign graduates. Perhaps, as "trade associations," they were anxious to avoid the creation of a surplus labor pool that would lower the American doctor's status and bargaining capacity. But they were both also very much concerned about maintaining standards

of medical practice. What was the use of jacking up American medical school standards and the quality of American graduates, if thousands of ill-trained doctors could come in at will to practice?

Eventually, an organization called the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates (ECFMG) was organized by the joint efforts of the AMA, AHA, Association of American Medical Colleges and Federation of State Medical Boards. This was related, in its leadership and in its approach, to the National Board of Medical Examiners, an agency which licenses physicians in some forty-three states. The National Board gives a comprehensive three-part examination which students take at the end of the second and fourth years of medical school and at the end of internship. In the forty-three states where the examination is given, it is recognized as a suitable substitute for the state board examination. (It should be pointed out that the medical licensing procedure in the United States is chaotic and archaic; the National Board attempts to standardize the licensing requirements and thereby to elevate the quality of medical graduates eligible to practice.)

At any rate, the ECFMG decided that what was needed was a type of National Board examination (i.e., several hundred "multiple choice" questions) which would select out the reasonably competent from among the graduates of foreign schools who were working, or who wanted to work, in American hospitals. The examination developed resembled the National Board's, although it was not as comprehensive; it contained fewer questions and, to allow for the language difficulty, 50 per cent more time was given to complete it.

HOWEVER, of the 8,700 who took the examination, only 3,700 passed; 2,500 failed it completely, while another 2,500 made a grade permitting them to take the examination again within six months. The results stirred up considerable bitterness not only among the foreign graduates, who felt that their inadequacy had been proclaimed to the world, but by the hospitals who will lose their services.

The burden of loss of services falls hardest precisely in those areas where foreign graduates tended to cluster — where they were needed most and accepted most easily. The plight of New York City's municipal hospitals is particularly pitiful. In the last two decades, these institutions have deteriorated to the point where their attractiveness to American medical graduates is small. Overcrowded, poorly managed, badly financed and equipped, and without adequate staff, the level of medical care they provide their patients is often appalling. Deprived of foreign physicians — as incompetent or inadequate as they may be — these city hospitals will be worse off than ever.

What can be done about this? In the long run, of course, we need more doctors. Not only domestic need,

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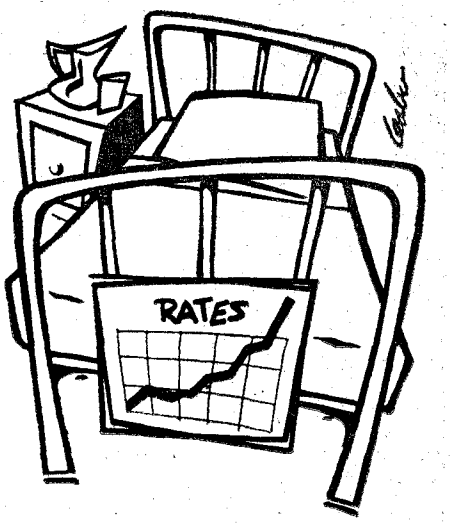
but commitment to world health activity and the desperate doctor shortage in underdeveloped countries, demand a quick flow of many more American physicians. That means that we are going to have to increase the number of medical schools, or increase the number of graduates from the existing schools, or both. We are going to have to develop a more positive attitude on the part of organized medicine so that we can get physicians in the numbers we need. Medical education is expensive. It is expensive to provide the equipment to produce doctors and most of all it is expensive to provide a staff to do the teaching.

For years the lobby of organized medicine blocked any federal appropriations to medical schools on the ground of possible government interference in medical practice. Recently, the lobby grudgingly acquiesced in proposals to provide "bricks and mortar" money from the federal purse. But they are still adamant about federal funds for operating the schools. And new schools will not be built until operating funds are available. Philanthropy on the scale needed to supply medical-school budgets is hard to find. It costs approximately $2 million annually to operate a medical school training 400 students and graduating one hundred students a year.

AND THE cost of attending medical school will have to be met in part from federal funds, too. Recently the decline in numbers and quality of applicants has thrown a fright into medical educators and thoughtful members of the profession. Between 1950-'58, college students increased from 2,300,000 to 3,300,000, while medical-school applicants in the same period declined from 22,000 to 15,000. It is true that many bright college graduates are deterred by the long and arduous training necessary to become a physician (let alone military service thrown in for good measure). The young specialist is thirty before he is firmly set on his career. It costs lots of money to go that far — somewhere between $2,000 and $3,500 a year for at least four years after college; over 20 per cent of the students incur debts of $5,000 or more in their education. The result is a paucity of students from low-income groups; and the paucity of Negro physicians, and physicians from other minority groups, is also largely ascribable to economics. Scholarships and outright subsidy of the student are basic necessities for increasing medical-school enrollment.

Right now, to ease the impact of the shortage, a few things can be done. In order to replace the care that the foreign graduates were providing in the inadequate hospitals, physicians will have to give more of their time to hospital work, putting in longer and more tiring days. Some of the things that doctors have been doing may have to be taken over by nurses or other paramedical workers. (Over the years we have seen certain aspects of medical practice that were the prerogative of the physician passed along to lesser practitioners: once only doctors gave injections, took blood pressure, tested urine.) Further, osteopaths will have to be introduced into hospitals and permitted to bring in osteopathic students and residents to fill vacancies. (Since there are only five osteopathic medical schools in the country, this is not likely to provide a final solution.)

It would also help if hospitalization could be decreased, if more patients could be looked after outside of the hospital. For example, organized group practice diminishes hospitalization by 40 or 50 per cent because so much diagnostic service and follow-up can be provided on an ambulatory basis. But only a very small proportion of Americans have access to prepaid group practice, and most prepayment schemes don't provide for out-of-hospital diagnostic service. If Blue Shield, or the other voluntary insurance schemes, would pay for ambulatory diagnostic services, it is quite likely that hospitalization would be significantly diminished. Further, if the experimental home-care programs could be extended to all the hospitals in the country, a further significant reduction of hospitalization could be achieved. Perhaps 20 per cent of the ward patients could be looked after outside the hospital.



Concerted efforts to *regionalize* hospitals would also reduce the cost of hospital service as well as the need for interns. It is ridiculous to have dozens of hospitals in nearby communities offering identical facilities in order to look after patients who might just as well go to a central facility. We can't afford the luxury of understaffed, competing hospitals. And small communities would do well to keep their facilities modest, diverting important work to larger, affiliated, regional hospitals with which rotation of staff as well as patients could be maintained. For such a regionalization scheme, perhaps the same sort of hospital-staffing scheme that has been used in Europe could be employed; full-time physicians staff a hospital more economically and efficiently.

FINALLY, efforts will have to be made to reduce the demand on physicians' services, at least temporarily. The increasing demand for medical service is related to the "revolution of rising expectations" that has characterized the American scene for the last half century. As people move up in the social scale, their use of medical service increases. This is only partly related to increasing recognition of illness. Medical practice has become more efficient, which is one of the reasons why the physician shortage hasn't made its effects felt earlier. Where fifty years ago pneumonia meant four to five weeks' illness (and possibly death) in the hospital, pneumonia is now a disease of a few days'

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duration, treated at home by antibiotics. But some of this increased efficiency is nullified, so to speak, by increased consumer demand. Perhaps whole new ways of organizing medical care, using a nurse or doctor's assistant as the family medical adviser, need to be devised.

THE possibility of getting these things done in a hurry is not very bright. Most of the solutions involve progressive policy decisions on the part of the profession and active, interested help from the federal and state governments. As I write, the five-county medical society in New York City has gained newspaper headlines for opposing full-time staffs in the city hospitals — not a favorable omen.

Long-range solutions, including more efficient organization of medical-care service (group practice), prepayment for medical care that includes all services and home care, as well as many new medical schools, are even more remote. But the present Congress will undoubtedly do something to improve the situation.

As for the foreign students, we owe them and the countries they come from a better deal than we have been giving them. Short-changed in the hospitals where they could get jobs, they need educational opportunities. Our hospitals should be made into better training facilities for them. The examination to select qualified people is necessary, and should be continued. If there are foreign schools that are not preparing their graduates for modern medical practice, perhaps we ought to help them with advisers, grants, facilities. Certainly an international, cooperative arrangement to help teach students better, and multilateral agreements on exchange and transfer of qualified students, would add to our status abroad and avoid the antagonisms aroused by the under-the-counter methods now in use.

ADVERTISING DOOMSDAY . . *by Eugene S. Schwartz*

PAGING THROUGH America's papers and magazines, one's eyes are arrested by a profusion of imaginative and colorful advertisements based upon the theme of the missile and space age. These are the advertisements of the military-industrial complex that is nurtured by a cold war that doesn't thaw, an arms race that spirals ever upward, and by a military policy that is based upon the search for an absolute deterrent that is second to none.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his farewell address, called the attention of the nation to the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry." While recognizing the need for this development, he warned that "we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications . . . we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence. . . ." At his final Presidential news conference, he lashed out at the spate of advertisements which convey the impression to the world that the munitions business is the main occupation of this country. They were, he said, part of the activities of a "defense lobby" which insists that one or another weapons system is vital to national security.

The kaleidoscopic collages of the defense lobby serve several purposes. First of all, they assure the American public that it couldn't get a better bargain for the more than $40 billion annually it spends on defense—a bargain based upon reliable, foolproof, creative, scientific achievements. Every company trumpets its patriotic fervor and its creative talent in contributing to the arms race. The larger corporations have a larger share in responsibility and creativeness (ten giant corporations in 1959 held 36.8 per cent of the $22 billion in military prime contracts, 25 corporations held 53 per cent, and 100 held 73.2 per cent). Their advertisements are more gaudy, more prolific, more insistent. But the smaller fry, in a-house-that-Jack-built manner, also make their claim to consuming a portion of the defense dollar. The corporation that makes the fastener that fastens the components in a device controlled by a feedback mechanism responding to transducers employing sensors that make a guidance system that steers a missile that is aimed by a mechanical brain, proclaims the role of its fastener in this patriotic and creative undertaking.

Having thus informed the reader of their role in absorbing the defense dollar, the companies proceed to their second purpose — to proclaim and propagate the "strategy of peace through strength." The rationale for this theme is found in an ad by Microdot, a connector manufacturer, that displays a sinister picture of Lenin declaiming; "We have never rejected terror on principle." Beneath the picture there appears the caption: "The words are Lenin's. Remember them . . . particularly when your contribution to defense—to the potential terror of space age war—chafes at your principles. They help you know that what you do keeps fingers off buttons . . . that the real business of the defense business is survival." Whose survival, the company's or mankind's, is not clear. The attrition among the small defense companies and the absorption of others by those who are buying up the glamour arms industries suggest that patriotism by itself does not insure business survival.

WHILE seeking to influence national policy through ads*, the companies at the same time extol the virtues of their particular weapons systems. As if to corroborate the former President's criticism, Space

EUGENE S. SCHWARTZ, research engineer in a university-affiliated Research Foundation, is working on a book, Science and Human Welfare.

*See "Munitions: A Way of Life" in *The Nation*, March 4, 1961, for advertising concerning the Nike-Zeus anti-missile system.

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Technology Laboratories, systems manager for the Atlas ICBM, proudly proclaimed that with the successful development of its product "the world became aware that the United States had brought into being a formidable retaliatory power for peace." Upon the successful firing of the solid-fueled Minuteman, the Thiokol Chemical Corporation promptly took a half-page ad in the daily press to announce "reliable power for peace at reasonable price . . . the nation's power to restrain war is moving up while anticipated costs come down." The consumer's demand for better products at lower prices and the benefits of a competitive economy are thus brought to the public and are well appreciated, at least in the business community, as indicated by the rise in value of armament stocks following a successful launching.

IN THEIR attempts at realism, the advertisers inadvertently reveal glimpses of the war their weapons are intended to prevent, and thereby introduce a terror of their own. Consider, for example, the historical account of a fifteenth-century missile, depicted by the Raytheon Missile System Division: "Flames swept across the open plains as the Mongol hordes ran in terror from the 'arrows of flying fire.' When the smoke had cleared the Chinese had won the battle of Pienking with the first rocket." Modern rockets, the ad states, "have become greatly more sophisticated" than the fifteenth-century bamboo rods and their company is "making significant contributions to the art of missilry."

This is what is disturbing about peace through strength—this and the split-second timing required to maintain the peace. "Response to attack must be immediate," we are warned by General Dynamics. "Minutes only will be available," announces International Telephone and Telegraph, while survival time is further shortened by a Sylvania ad which refers to "Destiny—and the ticking seconds." The push-button warfare necessitated by response measured in seconds is made possible by what ITT has called a "one-second minute for SAC." The SAC Control System is tested in "the imitation real thing," a full-page ad with this realistic text describing a simulated raid:

> The first warning alerted posts all over the United States and Canada. Unidentified airborne objects seemed to be approaching at supersonic speeds from many directions. Simultaneously in control centers throughout North America men and machines dealt with torrents of data. Watching blips on radar scopes, crews made decisions which ordered weapons to destroy the attackers. . . . But no rockets were fired. No bombs fell. The blips came from magnetic tapes made by a single high-speed computer. In planning it, System Development Corporation made four billion calculations and six and one-third miles of magnetic tape. To train managers in decision making, to exercise decision under realistic stress, to avoid costly errors in actual operations*—these are some of the purposes of . . . pioneering work in systems research and development.

One recalls the "terror from the arrows of 'flying fire'" and wonders what would happen if a single critical calculation in the "real thing" went wrong because a speck of dust lodged on the tape. One fervently hopes that we may "keep fingers off buttons"; and one searches the ads avidly for a hint as to what happens to the millions of Americans while the "enemy hordes" are consumed by our armed might. But both science and Madison Avenue are mute on this matter. Is it a muteness of secrecy or a muteness of inability to tell the American people that only a few ticking seconds stand between them and destiny—a destiny which will pass from the probable to the inevitable as the theory of deterrence is pushed to its ultimate of total annihilation in infinitesimal time?

THE THIRD role of the advertisements is to extol the scientific prowess of the military-industrial complex. Sometimes the advertisements cancel each other out.

Thus Lockheed, the systems manager of the Polaris missile, proclaims in a two-page ad: "Today it's a Polaris world," and quotes President Eisenhower's characterization of the weapon as a "revolutionary and practically invulnerable ballistic missile system." But Hughes Aircraft Company belittles the idea of the "ultimate weapon": "The ICBM is often called the 'ultimate weapon.' Yet, throughout history, there have been many so-called ultimate weapons. Men of science have always found a defense." While Collins Electronics describes the operation of Polaris: "Concealed by ocean depths, these ever-moving missile bases cannot be accounted for by an enemy planning a surprise attack," another vista-colored ad by Sperry Gyroscope Division informs the reader that "a radical new Passive Underwater System apprehends submarine craft almost intuitively . . . with uncanny accuracy. . . ."

Besides a bag of tricks by which missiles can "fox enemy radars" and fly in evasive patterns, we are assured by Eastern Industries, a manufacturer of pressurized dehydrated systems, that an "anti-missile missile radar is kept on the alert" and Sylvania Electronics proudly proclaims that its leadership in electronic warfare is "typified by its advances in countermeasures and counter-countermeasures against all known types of electromagnetic radiation."

And that's the way of science as predicted in the ads. We build a missile-launching submarine that "cannot be accounted for" and at the same time devise a system that "apprehends submarine craft almost

The following news item is quoted from the Manchester Guardian Weekly *of Dec. 1, 1960:* "The early warning radar station at Thule picked up signals which were analyzed by the computers there as a flight of missiles coming up over the horizon from Russia and heading in the direction of America. The famous red telephone rang at Strategic Air Command Headquarters. All over the world SAC crews stood to their planes. Someone signalled Thule for confirmation. There was no answer—Thule must have been hit already. What restrained Free-World from launching its retaliation weapons during the next half-hour I do not know unless it was those old fashioned deterrents, incredulity and funk. Whatever it was, it came in handy, for it turned out that Thule had picked up not a squadron of rockets, but a large earth-satellite of whose existence Intelligence had apparently failed to inform them, called the moon. By the time they had discovered this little error, however, they were prevented from passing the correction on because an iceberg had cut their submarine cable link."

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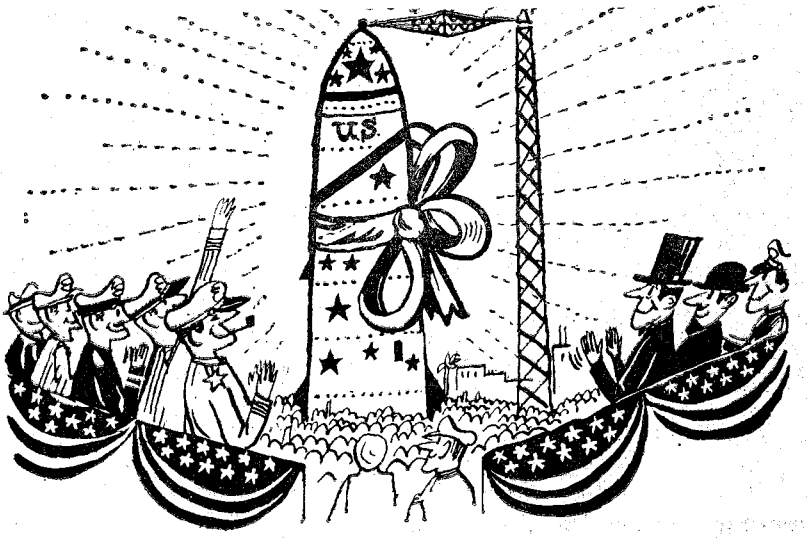
intuitively" and develop anti-submarine weapons "that deliver an unerringly destructive missile." Oh, may the Russians and Chinese and all our potential enemies be not as brilliant and creative as our engineers, for if their missiles are as invulnerable as ours and as hard to detect and as full of tricks, then their ads (if they have them) surely portray the "American hordes" in mortal fear before their ultimate weapons! And if their creative genius has created an anti- for all our weapons, then surely, our weapons are not absolute! And what is *vice* is *versa*.

It is this element of weapon and anti-weapon and anti-anti-weapon, etc., that makes an arms race so challenging—and so long lived. As we stand on the "threshold of the future," an imposing ad from General Electric suggests: ". . . Future generation missiles, satellites and deep space probes will require refined or entirely new detection techniques, including many that have not yet been conceived."

WE NOW turn to another major objective of the defense-industry advertisements — recruitment. The hiring and maintenance of scientists and engineers is a problem almost as great as the development of a weapons system itself. It is a problem which transforms the meetings of learned professional societies into adventures in piracy in which the lure is not only money and careers and prestige; it is climate, leisure and culture.

"Scientists and engineers," a technical personnel recruiting agency declaims, "California offers you and your family: A world center of the electronic industry for CAREER ADVANCEMENT, the High Sierra and the Pacific Ocean for RECREATION . . . Major CULTURAL CENTERS. . . ." "Why did I move to Martin-Orlando?", another ad asks. "My wife, the kids love Florida . . . the climate, the ocean, country living. We have everything we need." "Go Middle West . . . for a prime opportunity in missiles!" says Bendix Mishawaka Division, outlining a cornucopia of delights.

In the frantic bidding and pirating for talent, promising talent from all



over the world is drawn to America's military workshop. But note this plaintive appeal: "Canadians come home. Salaries are not always equal to the highest. The weather can be miserably uncomfortable. But there are interesting and challenging jobs in companies whose future is geared to the country." Surely, patriotism is the last resort of the desperate.

If a legitimate case can be made for the military-industrial complex, it should be one which simply states: here is an unpleasant task to be done. We don't like it, but it has been forced upon us. We look forward to the day when science may be restored to its pursuit of knowledge to serve mankind, not to destroy it. But in the last fifteen years a whole generation of what the National Cash Register Company aptly calls the "military-oriented scientists and engineers" have become soldiers without uniform, going from the classrooms of their universities directly into military work. A new professional elite has been created in "enlightened prestige organizations" which "offer career opportunities in every area of weapon support equipment and systems management," a "scientific quest . . . as a creative challenge." In a paean of self-glorification, Lockheed states that in its activities men of outstanding talent "find inventive and creative freedom. Here they find a sense of being . . . of accomplishing."

In the "excitement of a pioneering venture," careers are founded on a technology of destruction, and though we grant them the sincerity and integrity of hoping the buttons they are creating will never have to unleash the weapons they are building, their legacy to civilization is one of fear and terror. The military-industrial complex is the crowning epitome of a science dedicated to total war and a generation of scientists whose life work is based upon a technology for genocide.

Those who pay for the arms, as well as the ads that extol the arms, the American public, are told by a missile manufacturer: "Set your sites anywhere." Nothing is out of reach, we are told, and by a process of "scientific fallout," instead of strontium-90 and carbon-14, there will come out of the achievements by government and industry "better living by everybody."

Unless the "sites" are focused on Isaiah's prophecy, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares," the stimulating, challenging and creative efforts of the arms industry will lead instead to Isaiah's warning:

> We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement.

The policy of armed strength may make good advertising copy and substantial profits, but it does not lead to peace. The past fifteen years of armed truce do not attest to the success of the policy, but only to the fact it has not yet failed. War today is a deadly game in which mutual suicide awaits all players and the "covenant with death" leads unerringly to what one advertiser inadvertently called the "brief new world."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Do We Really Want Peace?

DAEDALUS: Fall 1960. Special Issue on Arms Control. American Academy of Arts and Sciences. 401 pp. $2.

Carl Dreher

THE SPECIFIC merit of this collection is that it compels the ardent proponent of "complete and general disarmament" to face up to the irreducible complexity of the whole problem. The correlated defect is that the *Daedalus* effort to work out a system of limitation on a gradualist basis is so heavily loaded with conventional patriotism and military premises that it appears we may have to "keep our guard up" and brave the steadily increasing risk of nuclear destruction for decades to come. *Daedalus* is published by the *American* Academy and, with few exceptions, these scholars are deliberating, not as judges searching their consciences for prejudice, but as litigants or combatants. The "nationally oriented approach" is justified in the prefatory note by Gerald Holton on the ground that a "necessary condition of any significant arms-control treaty is that it be acceptable to our own policy advisers and to the United States Senate." However necessary, this condition precludes an exploration of the subject in a spirit of intellectual *élan* and inventiveness, and results in a series of cautious presentations by a predominantly "in-house" group, cleared by the FBI, in possession of or eligible for high security ratings, and possibly to be tapped by the President for implementation of the views they hold. All of which makes a difference in the way a man thinks.

A revised edition of this issue of Daedalus *will be published in June under the title,* Arms Control, Disarmament and National Security. *George Braziller; $6.*

Undeniably, this semi-official approach gives the *Daedalus* effort greater practical significance than a more humanistic study would be likely to achieve in a country so overweening and at the same time so beset and anxious. Its importance is further enhanced by the circumstance that the chairman of the guest editorial board selected by Mr. Holton for this issue was Jerome B. Wiesner, now the President's science adviser. Dr. Wiesner contributes a foreword to the issue and a paper on "Comprehensive Arms-Limitation Systems" which is both the longest and the least biased of the twenty-three essays. That a man capable of this degree of objectivity could be selected for an influential government job is a good augury, though far from conclusive.

Carl Dreher, who writes from a background as an engineer, is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

The book is divided into five sections. The first, "Background," starts off with a paper by Donald G. Brennan on "Setting and Goals of Arms Control," in which he discusses the various forms of deterrence, total bomb yields and casualties to be expected, and the hazards of nuclear armament and disarmament. Brennan is sufficiently wary of the Soviets, but says "it is irrational to treat every Soviet arms-control proposal as if their sole motive in advancing it was to help them achieve world domination." Robert R. Bowie ("Basic Requirements of Arms Control"), though he believes "the record of broken agreements should warn us not to rely on Soviet promises or good faith," concedes that distrust is not limited to one side and that inspection cannot be 100 per cent "foolproof." Since no arms-control agreement can survive drastic violation of the national interest of any of the signatories—as conceived by national leaders—the agreement should provide for withdrawal of any participant on short notice.

In the next paper, "Characteristics of Recent Arms-Control Proposals and Agreements," William R. Frye discusses both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear attempts. Frye is well aware, as most American commentators are not, that the Baruch Plan was essentially a scheme to perpetuate indefinitely the then-existent American monopoly in atomic weapons. The offer and rejection of the plan served to bring out major differences between the powers in the timing of disarmament and control. The U.S. wanted control and inspection first and the scrapping of bombs later, the Soviet Union sought to reverse this order. The two sides finally agreed on simultaneous disarmament and control, but under cover of this formula each clung to its original preference, for reasons which made strategic sense to each.

Frye brings out several other significant points. No plan for denuclearization or disengagement is acceptable to the United States unless it is acceptable to Bonn; hence no such plan has ever had a chance. Referring to possible cheating in missile control, Frye declares, "No one in the West has any doubt about who would be most likely to succumb to the temptation." It is certainly harder for the West to cheat, but to the Russians it may seem that the U-2 episode throws some doubt on the West's inherent rectitude.

THE SECTION on "Major Issues and Problems" is dominated by Herman Kahn, Edward Teller and Henry A. Kissinger. As a group, the *Daedalus* contributors envision no more than a stabilization of the existing balance of terror; these three are even less optimistic. Kissinger ("Limited War: Conventional or Nuclear?—A Reappraisal") continues to plead for "immediate and energetic efforts to restore the conventional forces of the free world"; at the same time we must avoid creating the impression that we would acquiesce in a conventional defeat "in vital areas." Kahn ("The Arms Race and Its Hazards") also offers little that is new, except perhaps his ultimate weapon, *the Doomsday Machine, designed to* blow up the world (for a discussion of Kahn's book, *On Thermonuclear War,* by George Kirstein, see *The Nation,* January 14). Kahn shows no inclination to carry on a crusade against the Soviets and recognizes that mutual fear is the chief force impelling toward collision, but he envisions so many chances for the bombs to be triggered that the receptive reader can hardly avoid the conclusion that the war is inevitable, and might as well come soon as late.

In "The Feasibility of Arms Control and the Principle of Openness," Edward Teller contributes his faculty for casuistry to warn against the perils of disarmament. He asserts that World War II "was caused by an uncontrolled race for disarmament. The peace-loving nations disarmed; thereby they gave one lawless government a chance to bid for world domination." Teller should read Pertinax, Shirer and others who were close to the situation, instead of relying on his prescience. The truth is that the French were armed to the teeth, the British were by no means impotent, the Czechs had one of the best armies in Europe, and until well into 1939 the

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Russians were prepared to fight on the Allied side. Internally, the German generals were ready to dispose of Hitler rather than be plunged into a war they knew they would lose. It was not German military strength or Allied military weakness that threw Czechoslovakia to the wolves, but Allied disunity and in particular the hope that Hitler could be deflected to the East. Teller's views on disarmament are permeated by his determination to uproot communism; where Chamberlain, Pétain, Laval and the rest were willing to risk fascism, Teller is willing to risk nuclear war. That perhaps is a matter of taste, but it is not the function of a scholarly journal to disseminate gross and demonstrable distortions of history.

In the balance of this section, Paul M. Doty ("The Role of the Smaller Powers") points out that reliance on nuclear weapons quickened the insistence on rearming Germany and introduced tactical nuclear weapons with no doctrine to govern their use. A. Doak Barnett ("The Inclusion of Communist China in an Arms-Control Program") feels that the record shows "the Russians do not dictate to the Chinese: they negotiate with them." We would be well advised to do the same; the longer we delay, the higher the Chinese price for joining a U. S.-Soviet pact will be. Kenneth E. Boulding, in a conservative but thoughtful paper on "The Domestic Implications of Arms Control," refers to the "grotesque irony of national defense in the nuclear age [in which], having had the inestimable privilege of losing half [or is it three-quarters?] our population, we are supposed to set up again the whole system which gave rise to this holocaust!"

THE THIRD section, "The Implementation of Arms Control," though not the most readable, is the most important. Bernard T. Feld, in "Inspection Techniques of Arms Control," remarks in a footnote that the West accuses the USSR of desiring disarmament without control, and the Russians counter that they will not accept control without disarmament. It looks sometimes as if neither side had any interest in anything but advancing its own propaganda and strategic position, but actually the dispute centers upon the ratio of inspection to disarmament, as well as upon questions of phasing. My own belief is that we shall get nowhere until we recognize that for the Soviets secrecy remains a real military asset, which they will surrender only in proportion to other forms of security which an agreement may yield.

The paper on "Adjudication and Enforcement in Arms Control" is another of Louis B. Sohn's carefully drawn blueprints in international law (for a more comprehensive and urgent expression of Sohn's views, see *The Nation*, February 25). Thomas C. Schelling, writing on "Reciprocal Measures for Arms Stabilization," brings out the fact that while both we and the Russians are trapped by our military technology, there is already some tacit understanding between us: for example, we do not jam each other's military communications, we both abstain from assassination, and we share the Pacific for target practice. Schelling emphasizes that if nuclear war should break out, an "enormous, complex and dynamic scheme for arms control" would be required to bring it to a close short of exhaustion on both sides, and we should have at least some "crude and tacit, if not careful and explicit, understanding about the modes and techniques of negotiation in the event of war."

Wiesner's paper, which concludes this section, is on a less somber note. He has an electronic engineer's grasp of the technical problems involved. Free of the usual tropisms, Wiesner is able to take Soviet fears and distrusts into account, an empathy which, in a time of such menace, is an advantage to both sides.

Wiesner's remedial ideas generally are sensible and flexible. He suspects that a comprehensive system might be easier to negotiate than a series of small limited measures. But he does not rule out such major limited measures as an arms-free zone in Central Europe, anathema to Bonn. He opposes many other sacred tenets of "defense." Our tendency is to demand 100 per cent security from an inspection system, while we are descending to 20 per cent, say, in the armament race. Wiesner comments: "The fear of Soviet duplicity is so great among some Western experts who participate in disarmament planning that it is not possible to visualize a level of inspection which would actually alleviate this fear. Such individuals seem to prefer the unknown and the dangers of the arms race to arms reduction with any conceivable degree of inspection." And while the AEC and the Pentagon are clamoring for a resumption of nuclear testing on the ground that the Russians are probably cheating and gaining an advantage in nuclear power/weight ratios, Wiesner writes that "further [nuclear weapons] developments are not vital for the maintenance of an adequate deterrent posture."

In short, Wiesner brings a well trained, free-wheeling mind to bear, and God knows we need it. Of course the very possession of such a mind would leave him open to attack, but he is serving a President who seems to prefer the type (though for what ends we do not yet know) and his past technical achievements are a shield. Nor, actually, does he ever fail to put America first. It is only that he sees that Ameri-

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by CAREY McWILLIAMS

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THE AUTHOR —Carey McWilliams is author of *Brothers Under the Skin, Ill Fares the Land, Factories in the Field, A Mask for Privilege,* and other notable works. He served as Commissioner of Immigration and Housing in California (1938-42), and was twice awarded Guggenheim Fellowships for studies in the field of social history. He has been editor of *The Nation* since 1955.

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ca's fate has become internationalized.

Wiesner's potential for peace must not be overrated, however. Assuming that he will not hesitate to press his views (he voiced them a few weeks ago on television) he is still in an advisory, not a policy-making position.

Thus he may be consulted more on how to make weapons than on how to unmake them. At the moment, with the Kennedy Administration stepping up the arms race, the former is the more likely prospect. But our experience of the past years should inure us to rapid changes in cold war tensions. If the next change is for the better, there would seem to be a chance for a McCloy-Wiesner oriented team to conduct fruitful negotiations with the Soviets.

TWO SECTIONS and seven papers remain, plus a bibliography, but I can mention only Saville R. Davis' "Recent Policy Making in the United States Government" and Eric Fromm's "The Case for Unilateral Disarmament." Although Davis would not put it so unpleasantly, the history of arms-control negotiations in the late fifties is a chronicle of duplicity and hypocrisy, with the worst offenders on the American side. The Americans who, in the words of Marquis Childs, quoted by Davis, "cut the guts from American proposals," were John Foster Dulles, Arthur W. Radford, Lewis L. Strauss and Edward Teller. Fromm, though wholly condemnatory of the Soviet ethos and ethics, considers the Russian leaders "sane and rational people" and makes out a convincing case for graduated unilateral disarmament (the idea and the phrase are Charles E. Osgood's). Instead of each side trying to get the better of the other in bargaining, a method which maximizes the chances of deadlock, Fromm proposes that we take independent, gradual steps toward disarmament in the expectation that the Russians will reciprocate. Various conditions, carefully outlined by Osgood, are necessary: the unilateral act must be clearly disadvantageous to the side making it in terms of military aggression, yet not cripplingly so; it should be clearly recognizable by the enemy as reducing the threat to him; reciprocal action by the enemy should be clearly available and clearly indicated; the act should be widely publicized but this should be the only pressure on the enemy to reciprocate; etc. The idea is perfectly sound and in the present climate completely impractical. But in that case, do we really want arms-control, much less peace?

The Hero Who Sees Too Much

THE GLASS BEES. By Ernst Juenger. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. Noonday Press. 149 pages. $3.75 cloth. $1.65 paper.

Terry Southern

> *The fear and enthusiasm we experience at the sight of perfect mechanisms are in exact contrast to the happiness we feel at the sight of a perfect work of art. We sense an attack on our integrity, on our wholeness. That arms and legs are lost or harmed is not yet the greatest danger.* — The Glass Bees.

IN GERMANY, over the past few years, there has been a consistent juggling by the academies and other powers of Hermann Hesse and Ernst Juenger for the title, lately bequeathed by Thomas Mann, of "greatest living German author." Juenger was born in 1895. This would put him on the same level of age and cultural stature as that of Ernest Hemingway in this country. The comparison grows when one considers not only his war experiences ("fourteen times wounded and many times decorated for bravery") but his literary preoccupation with warfare. Moreover, one of the keystones of his prose is the taut understatement; it is the kind of understatement, however, that precludes further comparison of the two writers. Here is an example of it, from his latest novel *The Glass Bees*: the narrator is recalling the paternal qualities of Monteron, commandant of the military school he attended as a child. . . . "When Gronau had gambled all his money away, Monteron drove to the city that same evening to take care of the matter; although when he returned the next afternoon, it was already too late." This is the only reference to Gronau in the book, and it is *the only reference to that incident.* There is nothing in the words themselves even to suggest it, but it is indisputable that the boy has committed suicide. Hemingway rarely achieved this degree of subtlety and indirection, and then only in the abstract, that is, to convey an emotion—generally fear or pride—as in the magnificently sinister ending of "Big Two-Hearted River," where the boy decides not to fish any farther downstream, after staring at the river where it disappeared around a bend into the swamp; he decides instead to go back to camp: "There were plenty of days coming when he could fish the swamp."

But what Hemingway seldom managed in his prime, Juenger continues to surpass in his sixties. His work is, in fact, in the very mid-current of contemporary art; that he should be a generation removed by age is what makes it so remarkable—for surely it is one of the sadnesses of our time that, unlike the ancients of the East, we do not grow wiser with years but, beyond a certain age, become set and increasingly stupid. Indeed, "arrested development" is the norm, but the muse that haunts Juenger is the same one which moves restlessly among the ageless everywhere . . . Picasso, Frank Lloyd Wright, Bertrand Russell.

Stylistically, *The Glass Bees* is similar to certain works of Sartre and Camus, especially *Nausea* and *The Stranger.* The hero sees too much. He sees too much "for his own good," as the saying goes; he sees through a thing, into the absurdity of it, so quickly that he is incapable of relating to it except by projection. He is confronted by an abyss of freedom on every side, and the problem is to find some way to get rid of it, to find something, in short, worth doing. The story is presented as a *tableau,* a single afternoon on the residential terrace of Zapparoni, the industrial emperor with whom the hero expects to take employment—he having decided, for the moment at least, that he *must* take a job, any job, to make his wife feel more secure about such matters as unpaid rent, etc. Zapparoni is more than a man, a cultural phenomenon, a dynasty, somewhat like our own Walt Disney but to the thousandth-power. His industries specialize in the invention and production of all manner of incredibly intricate mechanical devices, fantastic robots, things which often began as toys and household gadgets but became something else:

> Zapparoni had started with tiny turtles—he called them "selectors"—which were designed for picking and choosing. They could count, weigh, sort gems or paper money and, while doing so, eliminate counterfeits. The principle involved was soon extended; they worked in dangerous locations, handling explosives, viruses,

TERRY SOUTHERN has written The Magic Christian *(Random House) and* Flash and Filigree *(Coward-McCann).*

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and even radioactive materials. Swarms of selectors could not only detect the faintest smell of smoke but could also extinguish a fire at an early stage; others repaired defective wiring, and still others fed upon filth and became indispensable in all jobs where cleanliness was essential. . . .

Another fast-moving item of the Zapparoni stamp is the life-size television marionette—convincingly real, and more beautiful than the human form (because even its flaws are Ideal).

During the interview the hero is left alone on the terrace and is put to a character test, along, of course, with the reader. One aspect of the test involves his reaction to the sight of *severed ears* floating on a lily-pond nearby. He speculates about the possibilities:

> Formerly, my first—and also best—reaction in a similiar case would have been to report what I had seen. Anyone who made such a horrid discovery while walking in the woods would have done the same: you called the nearest police station. This I ruled out at once. The years when I showed a taste for such bravura were past. Words had changed their meaning; even police were no longer police.

Thinking it over, he decides that even today a person would still report the discovery of a single ear—but "what would he do when he came to a part of the forest where a profusion of ears were lying around like poisonous mushrooms? You can be sure he would sneak away. And perhaps neither his best friend nor his wife would hear about his discovery. In such a situation we are cautious."

In this metaphorical incident lies high seriousness; it is seriousness of an order not foreseen by Hemingway. And, in its objective searching and its mercilessly personal candor, we recognize the general distinctions which mark the terrible difference between what is contemporary and what is past.

The nature of the work the hero is offered is never revealed. One gathers though that it is, like most work nowadays, ridiculous and contemptible, which is more or less the point of the book—a point probably well taken, certainly one beautifully made.

Blue Collar Commuters

WORKING CLASS SUBURB. By Bennett M. Berger. University of California Press. 143 pp. $3.50.

William Gomberg

PROFESSOR RAUTENSTRACH, the late noted Columbia head of Industrial Engineering, once asked Professor Pupin, after whom the Physics Laboratories at Columbia are named: "How do you distinguish between a run-of-the-mill physicist and a distinguised investigator?" Pupin's answer: "By the problems he chooses." It takes courage to challenge the obvious and that is what Bennett Berger has done.

Mr. Berger, a sociologist at the University of California, seeks in *Working Class Suburb* confirmation of the popular hypothesis that the movement to the suburbs of wide sectors of the population is shaping a new homogeneous civilization, contemptuously referred to as suburbia by the intellectual; an "other directed," driven population, the embodiment of the "middle class ideal."

He noted that when the Ford Motor Company moved from Richmond, California, to Milpitas at the south end of the San Francisco peninsula, the work force moved from urban dwellings in Richmond to a newly created working-class suburb of San Jose, California. He spent 1957 making an investigation to determine whether the workers so transferred imbibed the set of values associated with suburbia — PTA activity, country clubbing and status striving. He concludes that these workers, many of them the original "Okies and Arkies" of the thirties, showed none of the restless strivings of the junior executive, apprentice engineer or assistant professor.

Highly paid, these workers owned their $12,000 homes or at least shared them with a mortgagee, had two cars in their garages and their share of television and household appliances. Nevertheless, they maintained their working-class outlook and loyalties; 81 per cent of them voted Democratic, they looked upon their status as fixed, expressed satisfaction with the present and were interested only in protecting it. Almost all of them were U.A.W. members. Their ambition had nothing in common with the executive search for promotion. A man who had given up the job of foreman after six months put it this way: "I'm a working man, I don't like to be

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sitting down or walking up and down all the time."

Contrast this picture with middle-class suburbia where the junior executive is protected by no such due process as the union provides, where he is convinced that he must go up or out; the difference of outlook is understandable.

It is significant that Mr. Berger's observations were made in 1957, the most highly productive year the motor industry ever enjoyed. The workers felt secure and, being in the best paid industrial group, expressed satisfaction with their lot. It would be interesting to interview some of the Milpitas group during periods of curtailed production schedules to discover if their sense of serenity still prevails.

Those who question the obvious and get strange answers become our great intellectual pioneers. In this case, Mr. Berger received the expected and obvious answer. Nevertheless, the study remains a useful document in directing the efforts of future scholars along different paths. How many of us are destined in our careers to achieve a Copernican-like breakthrough?

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

BARTLEBY, the one act "opera," having failed to sustain its end of the evening which included *The American Dream,* has been replaced by *The Death of Bessie Smith,* another short play by Edward Albee (York Theatre). The change should greatly aid the program because *Bessie Smith* is a notably sharp piece of dramatic writing.

Bessie Smith, a famous Negro blues singer of the twenties and thirties, bled to death after a car accident in the city of Memphis, Tennessee, because she was denied medical assistance in any of the city's white hospitals. Albee has dramatized the incident in an unusual manner. Instead of emphasizing the shameful shock of the episode he helps us understand its human sources.

One never sees Bessie. The play is focused on a nurse who is a receptionist in one of the Memphis hospitals. Her life is a tissue of fear, frustration and sadistic compensations. She loathes her semi-invalid father whose family was once (long ago) imperiously prosperous in Dixie fashion. He is an idle, shriveled, mean man — disfigured by impotent venom and the ludicrous grimaces of racist superiority. In her own way the nurse continues the paternal pattern, for though her job is ill-paid and almost menial, she cracks the whip of her "position" over a colored orderly at the hospital, a young fellow with pretentions to self-betterment. She also teases an intern at the hospital who wants her—even offers to marry her—teases him with calculating provocation without satisfying her own or his needs. In addition she warns him against any aspirations beyond the bounds of their town's horizon. From her inner constriction and the spite that this begets she mocks and terrorizes the two men; and she does this because she is too weak to fight her way out of the impasse of her life. She insists on accepting the constraints the community imposes. Her dominance over the men embodies the environment's stranglehold on all of them. But just this power maims her as well as her victims; underneath the grinning grimness of her will she is consumed by self-abomination. It must be clear from all this that the nurse and the others, even the death of Bessie Smith herself, are peripheral symbols pointing to a tragedy wider than that of one county or segment of our society.

The writing of the play is biting, tensely risible, euphonious—making for heightened speech which approaches stylization. It marks Albee once again as a new American playwright from whom much is to be expected.

The most aptly cast actor in the production is Harold Scott as the orderly, but Rae Allen and the others who are of a softer natural disposition play with professional authority and intelligence, though they are directed a little too "psychologically" for a play in which psychology is implicit in the incisive slashes of the dramatist's "drawing" rather than in an internal probing of mental processes. But perhaps this is only a refined quibble: the production is eminently proficient.

I FOUND myself more absorbed in the *Comédie Française* production of Racine's *Britannicus* than in that of Molière's *Tartuffe.* But for this play it is more important to know French: Racine's drama has much less stage movement. (*Le Dindon* by Georges Feydeau—which I saw only in Paris—is a howlingly funny and easily comprehensible farce, designed, staged and acted with consummate skill.)

Britannicus is more foreign in form than any of the other plays the *Comédie Française* has brought us. The seventeenth-century French alexandrine line sounds monotonous to the ear unaccustomed to it, but with the *Comédie Française* it becomes a dramatic instrument that holds us even more by its trenchancy than by its musicality.

Ostensibly a historical play, *Britannicus* is actually another of Racine's studies in the subject which most fascinated him and to which his contribution is one of the profoundest in all theatrical literature. It is summed up in one line of the play: *l'amour est une autre science* ("love is a different kind of knowledge"). Racine was obsessed with the passion of love as a force not to be held in check by convention, reason, honor, religion or state policy. (In Louis XIV's court this was revolutionary—in sharpest contrast to the moral severity and aristocratic discipline celebrated in Corneille's plays.) Under the traditional disguise of a literary classicism, Racine unleashed those evil impulses which are aroused by the whips of desire.

In the present play Agrippina, Nero's mother, has arranged his marriage, educated him, led him in all things and finally made him emperor. One is never sure whether she has done this from maternal feeling or from personal ambition (or whether the dramatist regards them both as the same thing). Nero has submitted to his mother's care and, though it has enslaved him, it has kept him virtuous. But impelled by adulterous lust for the virgin sweetheart of his half-brother, Britannicus, Nero begins to break loose from his mother's grip. Weak, vacillating, violently neurotic, he begins his long career of crime by having Britannicus poisoned. A legendary villainy is thus explained in one of the first modern treatments of the mother-son conflict.

Regally handsome, Annie Ducaux plays the role of Agrippina with superb dignity, clarity, strength and mastery of reading. Robert Hirsch as Nero can roar with the best of them; his strikingly nervous mask appears to be exactly what is required. Indeed, all the players do just the right things to indicate the dramatist's intentions. Only the flame is lacking; and true grandeur. We are not touched by any of the fire which the decorum of the verse is meant to shield. To bring such a play fully to life, to give it the impact which justifies it as a stage piece today, what is demanded is the demonic intensity which in the nineteenth century Rachel is supposed to have brought to Racine. The *Comédie Française* company knows how to imitate passion but does not appear to possess it. It does everything which technique and understanding can accomplish. Thus it offers us an impressive graph rather than the substance of Racine's inspiration.

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ART

Fairfield Porter

IN A RECENT column in the New York *Herald Tribune,* John Crosby writes, "It does seem to me that the gulf between the public and the artists has never been wider, but this is one of those subjects that is unmentionable." He quotes Abram Chasins, the composer: "The average man is educated or bullied into thinking he has a responsibility toward modern art. But . . . the artist feels not nearly so obligated to reach this average man as the average man feels responsibility to reach the artist." And in his letter to *The Nation* on March 4, Selden Rodman implies that a stand for artistic moral commitment puts one in the minority. These criticisms that modern art does not communicate and lacks moral commitment, go together. The first says that it is selfish, hence immoral, not to communicate; the second says that the only proper communication is a moral one. The first criticism assumes that the artist should be more guided by public taste. That is the theory behind public-opinion polls and market analysis. There are a number of objections to this. Market analysis informs one about the immediate past. And since "the public" is a generalization, "public taste" is either not concrete, or it aims at a preference for reminiscence, that is, a preference for the second hand. Insofar as "public taste" *is* concrete, it is against individual integrity. The second critieism, that modern art lacks moral commitment, usually contains a puritanical moral prejudice, which is that goodness consists in a concentration of attention on shortcomings, failure and disaster. This is called compassion. This was the moral motivation of Helen Schlegel in *Howard's End,* who, in order to confront Mr. Wilcox with his evaded responsibility, brought two starving people from London to the country estate he was visiting on the Welsh border.

The morality and the communication inherent in the nature of art is that it makes one aware of the connectedness between people and between things. Science does this too, with the difference that science explains, where art presents the wordless. When connections are explained, the form of the explanation takes the place of the original *gestalt*: science leads you toward itself, art goes no further than analogy. Science takes you away from the world, and art forces the world upon you. The "world" means anything that one may be aware of, objective or subjective. It can mean the artist's, which is to say man's, relation to work. Art has no rules to confine awareness. Because art is concerned with the ineffable—what cannot be translated—it will seem difficult to anyone who believes that explanation is the road to understanding. Artistic understanding comes from confidence in one's intuition.

THE CASTELLI gallery exhibits nine oils by Jack Tworkov. Tworkov is one of the American painters chosen two years ago by the Museum of Modern Art for a traveling show in Europe. In that exhibition, which was shown at the museum, Tworkov's paintings stood out. His paintings have a quality that other American-type non-objective paintings do not have: though superficially just as broad and dashing, they are entirely conscious. This is apparent to anyone. The least accident, even the smallest white splinter between broad strokes of French-flag blue and red, which may look as spontaneous as an accident, has been worked out with the greatest deliberation after much redoing. At first sight, therefore, his paintings haven't the virtuoso impact of Kline—that enormous release of immediate energy. Tworkov's forms, tattered, banner-like, are endlessly calculated to simulate this all-at-onceness. On an almost hidden single or double H grid, a structure inside and relative to the carpentry of the canvas stretchers, he makes a transition to the specific torn looseness of the final painting. The stretched canvas is the form of general communication, as one talks to another person in English. The specific building up of strokes relates to some organization of experience that is more than visual, though visually presented. The titles indicate this: *West Barrier, Brake, Friday.* Tworkov's power, which gives his paintings their lasting effectiveness, comes from his never letting go of awareness. This scrupulosity, however, is always esthetically relevant to the concrete painting (which guides him), it always adds up to a coordinate force, a moral one, like the force of conscience. His conscience is directed toward the difficulty of achieving artistic integrity. His conscience keeps him conscious, awake and aware.

Alex Katz's paintings at the Stable gallery are also relevant to the discussion of communication and morality. They are figures in landscapes, landscapes, interiors and portraits. The bright style recalls such unsophisticated commercial art as a Wheaties package (framing a full-length portrait of the dancer Paul Taylor), or of colored comics. Katz connects conscious art with art that was not consciously intended, and the articulate with the inarticulate. In the past his paintings have had in much of the daily press an attentive and classically condemnatory reception that recalls the blasts that first greeted Monet, Degas, Cézanne, Van Gogh and Matisse. I think these critics object to his connecting art with the unpretentious, as though he were betraying a social status. In the portraits the likeness does not "stop" the paint. The most ordinary and flattest gray, mixed only from black and white, has the radiance of violet. The green of a real, living plant in the gallery looks less alive than the actually rather abstract green of the foliage in his landscapes.

Other paintings now on the walls, or recently shown, that have given me a great deal of pleasure are the non-objective paintings of John Grillo at the Wise gallery, Patricia Passloff at the Green, and the representational painting of Robert Dash at the Barone gallery, of Edith Schloss and Lawrence Campbell at the Tanager, and of Wolf Kahn at Borgenicht. To me pleasure is both communication and a sign of moral commitment.

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MUSIC

Lester Trimble

IF THE series of concerts planned for next season by the new Musica Viva of New York are as splendid as the one given a few days ago at Town Hall, the city's concert life will have acquired an impressive addition to its contemporary wing.

The seventeen-member Contemporary Chamber Ensemble, performing under Musica Viva auspices, was led by a young conductor, Arthur Weisberg, whose stage manner is as modest and unpretentious as his abilities are distinguished. I have not, in a very long time, come across a young conductor who, with no fuss and feathers, gave such convincing evidence of being a major, mature interpretive talent. His control throughout the evening was subtle and absolute. Everything had polish; nothing was glossy. The contemporary styles ranged from far-left pointillism to the far-right lyric expression of Hindemith; he understood them all. His reading of the Stravinsky *Ragtime* was the most exact, exquisite (and hilarious) I have ever heard. Leonard Bernstein should know about this young man, and so should the management of every American orchestra.

Mr. Weisberg's program, in the order of presentation, included the *Toccata* (1933) by the Mexican composer Revueltas; *Three Songs for Alto* (1932), by Ruth Crawford; *Serenata No. 2* (1957) by the young Italian, Bruno Maderna; Stravinsky's *Ragtime* (1915); the first American performance of *Tropi* (1959) by another young Italian, Niccolo Castiglioni; and Hindemith's *Herodiade* (1944). It seemed long, toward the end. But this had as much to do with Hindemith as with the clock. The *Herodiade*, though it has sections that are transcendentally lovely — some of them lyrical in an almost Wagnerian manner; others sweetly bucolic — grows a bit flaccid as its roughly twenty-five minutes of music flow on. The form is not satisfying, and the individual sections vary in interest. Nevertheless, because one almost never hears this work, because it was so affectionately interpreted and cleanly performed, an occasional nod was a small price to pay.

The Revueltas *Toccata* is a good program-opener, but an unimportant piece. It is a jaunty, neo-classic work, similar in atmosphere to the Milhaud *Concertino de Printemps*. The thirties speak through its every measure, and so does the composer's facility. But that is about the end of it.

Ruth Crawford's *Three Songs for Alto* are exceedingly fine. In 1933, they were chosen to represent the United States at the International Festival of the ISCM in Amsterdam, and it is not difficult to see why. They are set to poems by Carl Sandburg (*Rat Riddles, In Tall Grass, Prayers of Steel*), and create an individualistic set of moods, varying from piquant humor to concrete-mixer solidity, which both suit the poetry and add up to a large musical dimension. They are carefully composed, in stylistic terms which will not date. They have marvelous substance, fanciful color (especially in the percussion section), and deserve to be part of the standard repertory. Why are they never heard? Barbara Crouch sang the *Three Songs* in exemplary vocal fashion. As for diction, in the first song, her every word was crystal clear. In the second and third, only an occasional phrase could be understood. What accounted for the difference?

Bruno Maderna's *Serenata No. 2* is a work of extreme-left orientation; wispy and pointillist in texture; probably 12-tone in construction (though I wouldn't attest to that without analyzing the score); and appealing in sound and spirit. Sometimes the musicians play alone or in tiny groups; at other times the whole ensemble gets excitedly together. Despite the fact that its sonorities are extremely evanescent, and that it devotes a part of its time to the examination of such irreducible quantities as single tones, it gives a strange impression that some sort of harmonic glue is holding the fragments together. This impression, probably accurate, may derive from the fact that the composer is Italian, and therefore unwilling to construct a musical entity which has nerve-endings, but no body. It is a young artist's music, and good.

Stravinsky's *Ragtime* needs little description at this point. It is a *pièce d'occasion* of considerable charm, and bears striking similarities to the same composer's *L'Histoire du Soldat*. As a witty comment on its period, it is marvelous. It is also a bit long.

Tropi, by Niccolo Castiglioni, the penultimate piece on the program, was as lovely and as Italian in spirit as Maderna's *Serenata*. The *Tropi* are, again, extremely fragile pieces, informed at every moment with music's sensuous possibilities. In the printed score, they look almost frighteningly "exploded" and complex. In performance, they are not at all hard to take. Important portions of them sound very much like a good 33⅓ recording played backward at 78. Everything makes a kind of inferential sense — if you first assume that you are hearing reality turned backwards or upside-down. It is a very pretty music, and embraces a variety of moods and textures. It is beyond me how Mr. Weisberg achieved so smooth a performance of the work in what must have been limited rehearsal time.

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Grape is my mulatto mother
In this frozen whited country. Her veined interior
Hangs hot open for me to re-enter
The blood-coloured glass-house against which
The stone world beads to a dew and steams off—
Diluting neither my blood cupful
Nor its black undercurrent. I swell in there, soaking.
Till the grape for sheer surfeit of me
Vomits me up. I'm found
Feeble as a babe, but renewed.

TED HUGHES

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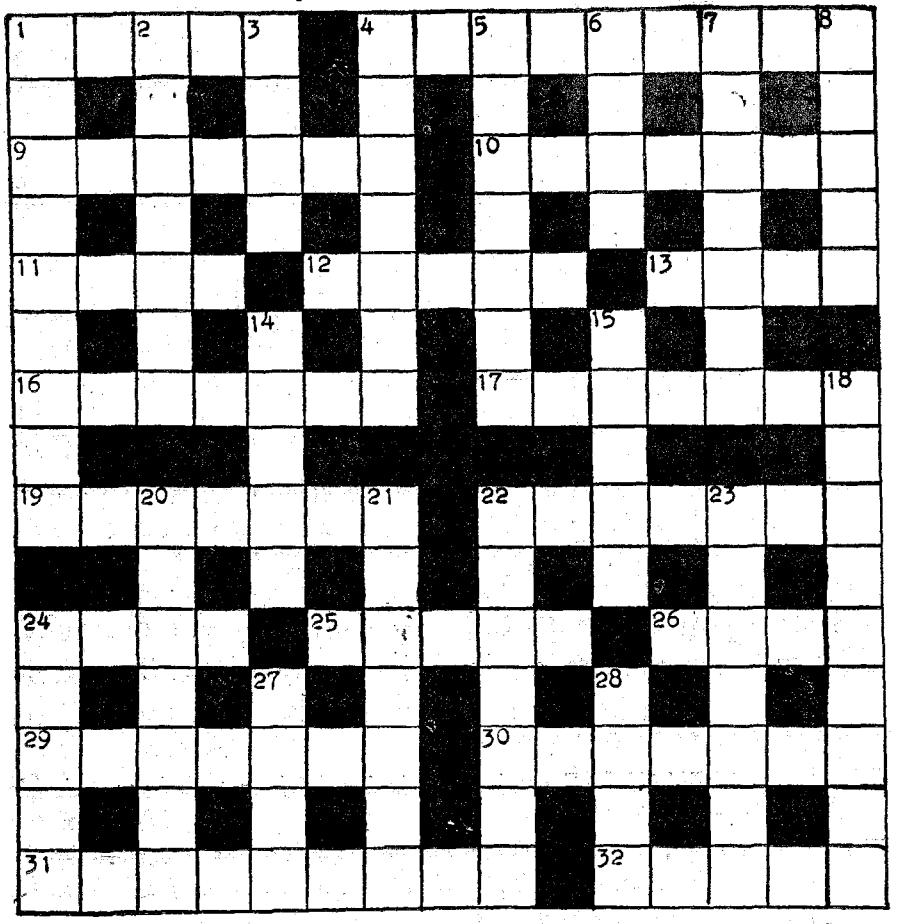
Crossword Puzzle No. 907

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 4 down The main business of horse-swapping? (5, 2, 5)
4 See 24 across
9 Where to sign an order for beer? (2, 5)
10 One might need to study the route with this sort of map. (7)
11 and 13 At this point the performance is followed by a drink. (5, 3)
12 Reputedly Welsh candy? (5)
13 See 11 across
16 Assistance returns in good speed spread out. (7)
17 So many people to the acre, Ole Swenson says. (7)
19 See 15 down
22 You might be with guns on you when not in the open. (7)
24 and 4 across Tense, due evidently to some former wrong-doing? (4, 9)
25 and 14 down Trouble on foot with discussions remaining after the harvest. (10)
26 See 8 down
29 Serving as introduction. (7)
30 Controversial. (7)
31 Injuries don't have to be bandaged once to be so. (9)
32 Sounds like a lot is carried in these veins of mine! (5)

DOWN:

1 Methods re how the fire might be put out? (9)
2 How ranks might be commanded.
3 Title, in a back-handed way. (4)
4 See 1 across
5 Stared at by a stout fellow of poetry. (7)
6 British ladders. (4)
7 Descriptive of the period, perhaps.
8 and 26 across One might a small fish, if one with older characteristics. (9)
14 See 25 across
15 and 19 Falstaff, in more than one way! (5, 7)
18 If one team makes a conversion, then this, my friends! (9)
20 Where to find dates stuffed, otherwise? (7)
21 The house might be 22 across by them. (7)
22 Watch out! Take care! And fight! (7)
23 With some difficulty, reads to become as oysters might be. (7)
24 and 28 Not the editor's office, though it might provide him raw material. (5, 4)
27 Hamlet's forefathers were to Gray rather than Shakespeare. (4)
28 Sec 24 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 906

ACROSS: 1 Aforementioned; 9 Treacle; 10 Stepson; 11 Redden; 12 Spotless; 14 Round-up; 15 Lined; 17 Wager; 19 Oarsman; 21 and 2 The Witch of Endor; 23 Usurer; 25 Thin air; 26 Moorage; 27 Understatement. DOWN: 1 Afterglow; 3 Exchequer; 4 Ewes; 5 Test papers; 6 and 8 Overtones; 7 Eastern; 13 Idiot cards; 15 Limestone; 16 Deferment; 18 Grecian; 20 Narrate; 21 Tots; 22 Inane; 24 Emma.

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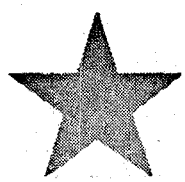

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